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AND
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Ancient Sind, A study civilization, by C. L. Marivala, B. A.

پاران ايم ايڇ پنهور انسٽيٽيوٽ آف سنڌ اسٽڊيز، ڄامشورو.

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# STUDIES IN INDO-MUSLIM HISTORY.

## PROF. HODIVALA'S COMMENTS ON BEG-LAR-NAMA.

(*Elliot's History of India, Vol. I. pages* 289 *to* 299).

Page, 293 line, 24. *Rai Dhar Raj of Jesalmir.*

The real name of the Raja ruling at this time was Har Raj. Abdul Fazl says that Rawal Har Raj's daughter was married to Akbar in the 15th year, 977-978 H. (Akbar Nama II. 358, Tr. II. 518.) She gave birth to a daughter named Mahi Begam who died in the 22nd year of the reign. 1577 A.C. [ib. III, 200; Tr. III, 282] See also the dynastic list of the Rawals of Jaisalmir in Duff Chronology of India. 291, and Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajesthan, Crooke, II, 1225 note.

Page 296, line 14; *The Chiefs of Umarkot, Jesalmir, Bikanir, Nirohi, Mahwa, (Miwar?); Kotara, Bahalmer, Nilma, Barkar, Kach, Nakti, Ramdinpur, Chauduwar, and the like were gained by his bounty.*

Some of these place names are indubitably corrupt. 'Nirohi' must be Sirohi and Bahalmir, Bahadmir, also called Barmer, Balmer or Badmer in Jodhpur. Kachh-Nakti is Kachh-Nagan, q. v. Hobson Jobson s. v. Cutch. It is another name of Nawanagar or Jamnagar. Nagna or Nagan is said to have been the name of the village on the site of which Jam Rawal of Nawanagar (also called Little Kachh) founded his new capital. 'Ranchhodji Amarji, Tarikh-i-Sorath, Tr. Burgess, 241; Bombay Gazeteer, VIII, 566). Tavernier says that Dara Shikoh passed through the country of the King of 'Kachnagona' in his flight (Travels I, 347). Ramdinpur must be Radhanpur, 85 miles north west of Ahmadabad. Constable 26 Cd. Kotara or Kotra 60 miles south-west of the town of Jaisalmir (Tod's Rajesthan, II, 1226 and note: Ain. Tr. II, 278). Barkar may be Pokran (Pokhran) or Pungal. Both are mentioned in the Ain as Mahals in the Sarkar of Bikaner (ibid); Constable 26Cb; 25 Aa.'

This absurd panegyric on the largesses of Khan Zaman is more in the style of a Rajput Bhat than of a sober historian. The name of the Bhatti bard given here (line 6 ff. as "Hewanda") must be a mistranscription of Chonda.

## List of Books in the Library of the Sind Historical Society.

1. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, 1934-5-6-7, Vols. IX to XII.
2. Extracts relating to Sind from the Archaeological Reports of India from 1892 to 1936. (typed copy)
3. Scindy Diary. 1762-64 (Typed copy).
4. Life of Ch. Masson. (Typed copy).
5. History of Kalora by David Seton. (Typed mss.).
6. Burton, Sir. R. F. Sind the Unhappy Valley, 2 vols.
7. Do. Sind Re-visted 2 vols.
8. Do. Races and Tribes of Sind.
9. Do. Do (Typed copy).
10. Chachnama, by Fredunbeg Kalichbeg.
11. Conquest of Sind by G. E. N. W. Napier.
12. Autobiography of Lutfullah, by Eatwick.
13. Tenth Baloch Regiment, by D. A. Chaldecott.
14. Mihran of Sindh by Capt. Raverty.
15. Indus Delta Country by Haig.
16. Ibn Batuta in Sind by Haig.
17. Sasevi and Punhu by Goldsmid.
18. Masum, Taraikh-i-Sind, by Dr. Daudpota.
19. Mother Right in India by Baron Ehrenfels.
20. Tufatul Kiram (Persian).
21. Bibliography of Moghul India by Sri Ram Sharma.
22. Archeological Finds in the Idar State.
23. Antiquities of Sind by Cousens.
24. History of Slavery in India by Banaji.
25. Parliamentary correspondence re Sind, 1838-43.
26. Miscellaneous correspondence re Sind, March to August 1800. (Typed copy).
27. Dry leaves from Young Egypt. by Ex-political.
28. Conquest of Sind, a commentary by Major Outram.
29. Sind, by Abbot.
30. History of Sind by Carter.
31. Something about Sind by Sigma (Dayaram Gidumal).
32. History of Sind by R. B. Bulchand Dayaram.
33. Official Writings of Montstuart Elphinstone.
34. Travels through Moghul India by Bernier.
35. Summary of various Ruling Dynasties in Sind (Persian Mss.)

36. Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg (English Mss.)
37. Khairpur Rayasat by Mirza Kalichbeg.
38. Sind-ji-Tarikh, 2 vols.
39. Amilan-jo-ahwal by Bherumal Mahirchand.
40. Miani-ji-jung, by Permanand Mewaram.
41. Miran-ji-sahibi, by Hakim Fateh Mahomed.
42. Miran-ji-sahibi, note ache chha? by Permanand Mewaram.
43. Sind-ji-Mir, by Diwan Udharam Chandumal.
44. Masum, History of Sind, by Malet.
45. Tarikh-i-masumi in Sindhi.
46. A Vocabulary of the Sindhi Language by Capt. J. B. Eastwick, 1843.
47. Sind's Changing Map, an Album, by M. P. Pithawalla.

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

(*Index to the Annual Reports for* 1902-1916).

## ARTICLES RELATING TO SIND.


Bellasis, Mr. On Mansura, Vol. III (1903-04), pp. 134ff.

Brahmanabad, near Hyderabad, Sind....

Excavations at Vol. III. (1903-04), 75,132-144, plates 44-50 and figures, 1-5. Vol. VIII (1908-09), plates 20-26 and figures 1-7.
Coins found at Vol. III (1903-04), p. 136.
Depar Ghangro, Vol. III (1903-04) p. 139.
Pottery found at Vol. III (1903-04), p. 137.
Map of. Vol. III (1903-04) plate 44.
Mosques at Do. p. 136.
See also Mansura.

Buddhist creed of formula (Ye dharma hety prabhava &c.) inscribed on sealings, votive tablets &c.
At Mirpur-khas. Vol. IX, (1909-10) p. 88, plate 39.

Chessmen at Brahmanabad, Vol. VIII (1908-09), p. 85, plate 26 and fig. 5, 6.

Cousens, H. Brahmanabad-Mansura in Sind, Vol. III (1903-04), pp.132-144, plates 44-50, and figures 1-5.
Vol. VIII (1908-09) p. 79-87, plates 20-26 & fig. 1-7.

Buddhist Stupa at Mirpur-Khas, Vol. IX (1909-10), plates 30-39 & figs. 1, 2.

Crystal reliquary found at Mirpur-Khas. Vol IX (1909-10), p. 85.

Depar Ghangro, near Brahmanabad; excavations at, Vol. III, p. 139, pl. 50.

Donors....at Mirpur-Khas, Vol. IX (1909-10), p. 90.

Glass bowl found at Brahmanabad, Vol. VIII (1908-09), p. 82; pl. 23.

Greek designs on bricks at Mirpur-Khas. Vol. IX (1909-10), p. 85, fig. 1.

Libation slab found at Brahmanabad, Vol. VIII (1908-09), p. 81, pl. 21 and figs. 2, 3.

Mansura in Sind, Vol. III (1903-04). p. 76; 132-144; plates 44-50, and figs. 1-5; Vol. VIII, (1908-09), 35; see also Brahmanabad.

Mirpur-Khas, Thar and Parkar district, Sind; stupa at, Vol. IX (1909-10) pp. 44. 80-92, pls. 30-39, and figs. 1, 2.
Pearls in relic caskets, at Mirpur-khas. Vol. IX (1909-10). p. 85.
Pottery at Brahmanabad, Vol. III, (1903-04) 137, fig. 4.
Rudrasena II; coin of, found at Saidpur, Sind, Vol. XIV (1914-15), 94, 95.
Saidpur, Hyderabad district, Sind; Buddhist stupa at, Vol. XIV (1914-15); pls. 56-59.
Seal; cornelian found at Brahmanabad, Vol. III, p. 139.
Shell bangles found at Besnagar, Charsada, Brahmanabad,.. Vol. XIII (1913-14). p. 210.
Shell ornaments found at Brahmanabad, Vol. III, 138, pl. 48.
Stupas, at Mirpur-khas, Vol. IX (1909-10), p. 80-92, pls. 30-39; figs. 1, 2 at Thul Mir Rukhan, Sind. Vol. V, (1905-06), p. 6.

N. M. BILLIMORIA.

# MOTHER-RIGHT IN INDIA.

BY BARON OMAR ROLF EHRENFELS, PH. D.

## A REVIEW

The writer of this Monograph, Baron Ehrenfels is not unknown in Karachi; he had given several lectures in the Theosophical Hall in Karachi, and has written many papers for the Sind Historical Society, Karachi.

The latest publication of the Baron is a quarto volume of 229 pages, in the Osmania University Series, published at Deccan Hyderabad, this year, for Rupees eight.

The Introduction is written by Professor Father W. Koppers, from Fribourg (Switzerland).

In the preface the author acknowledges his debt to his father, who was Professor of Philosophy, and the writer owed first and foremost not only his education in philosophy and scientific methodology, but also the ardent craving after truth; truth alone above all and everything, which he planted in his heart since early childhood.

He followed perhaps the tenets of Zoroastrianism, for in the great inscription of Darius at Behistan the most heinous crime mentioned is "telling the untruth."

The author has thrown new light on child-marriage, hypergamy, disregard of unmarried girls and widows, the burning of the latter, the caste-system, and even the religious significance of vegetarianism in India.

I may define "hypergamy"... the rule by which the social estimation of a family is raised, if its girls are married to a class of higher social status than its own. Members of the superior classes will take daughter from the lower classes but will not give their daughters to them.

The author gives an alphabetical register of Matriarchal castes and tribes.

The NAYARS who have great affinity with the Indus Civilization are the feudal land owners, a privileged highly educated class of Kerala. They inhabit the strip of land between the coast of Kanara and Cape Comorin.

There is the probability of some former affinity between the sociology of the Indus-civilization and the NAY-group.

I will write what the author says about Beluchistan, the Brahuis, and the Indus-valley civilization, for these points only will interest the readers in Sind.

In order to understand this affinity, we will give a summary of the respective results of Marshall's comparison. Sir John Marshall in his "Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus-civilization" gives eleven arguments in support of his assertion that the early Vedic civilization of the patriarchally organized Aryan immigrants to India was in sharp contrast with the Indus-civilization. The eleven points, which Marshall gives in support of his theory are mentioned below with the respective counterparts of the Nayars and Rajputs respectively.

1. The Aryans of the early Vedas were herdsmen, peasants and finally settlers in primitive sheds, made of earth, straw or bamboo. The Indus people on the other hand, erected cities, richly furnished with a system of water-pipes, canalization, big bathing tanks and arrangements which probably served for steam heating in "Turkish baths," indicating a very high standard of hygiene.

In accordance with this, the buildings of the Nayars have been found to be, not only extraordinarily spacious, and solid, but also regularly furnished with bathing tanks and water arrangements. Their extraordinarily pronounced cleanliness, hygiene and addiction to several ritual baths a day, must also be mentioned in this connection.

2. The early Aryans had gold, copper or bronze, at the time of the Rig Veda. Later, at the time of the Yajur Veda and the Atharva Veda, silver and iron came to the fore. The Indus civilization on the other hand used no iron and seems to have preferred silver to gold. Stone implements were still in use.

Certain types and forms of the traditional Nayar ornaments, which are now more and more being replaced by the conventional Southern Brahmin type, may, I think, be considered as pointing in the same direction. A thorough study of these old traditional forms of ornaments, still in use in more remote parts of Kerala, will perhaps bring forward facts and hints to culture-historic relationships.

3. The early Aryans used defensive arms which seem to have been unknown to the Indus peoples.

The Nayar knights went nearly naked to battle even as late as the time of the Portuguese travellers to Malabar. Our description of the running amok and the ritualistic regicide, once every twelve years, practiced among the Nayars, has already exhibited the aggressive attitude of these warriors. This characteristic feature, taken together with the nakedness in battle, makes it probable, that the round shield, which was used by the Nayars, is to be considered as perhaps a foreign element in the armour; at any rate not as something characteristic of the Nayar civilization.

4. The Vedic Aryans were meat-eaters, fish not being mentioned as a customary food.

The Nayars enjoy not only fish, but also the meat of other small animals, a fact which still deserves mention in this connection. Ananthakrishna Iyer says: "Only a minority of Nayars are strict vegetarians, though there is no prohibition against their eating meat, fish or fowl."

5. The horse played an important role among the Vedic Aryans. In Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa the horse seems to have been unknown.

The Nayars had no cavalry at the climax of their civilization.

6. Among the Aryans, it seems, the cow was prominent, from the religious point of view; among the Indus-peoples, the bull as far as we know.

Buffalo-racing reminiscent of Mediterranean forms of bull-ceremonies, which was a national sport to the Nayars, just as the Rajputs use cattle instead of horses as the ceremonial visits of their marriage-parties.

7. The tiger and the elephant, which are not mentioned at all in the early Vedas, but seem to have been specially familiar to the Indus-peoples; and, I venture to add here to Marshall's scheme, must have had a religious or ceremonial significance, according to the importance given to them on the seals of Mohenjo Daro.

The elephant-procession is a specially characteristic and prominent feature in Nayar-life. The tiger, bearing on its back the goddess Durga, and the tiger as name-giver to the Rajput-Baghel, is a characteristic element in the Rajput-Mythology and tradition, as well as the elephant-riding, which can be said to have been a sort of privilege of the ruling classes of India.

8. The Vedic religion is non-iconic. The religion of the Indus-civilization and, needless to stress, of modern Hinduism, is markedly iconic.

The Iconic character of the pre-Aryan religion has been still more generally imparted to modern Hinduism than was even the case in regard to ritual bathing or the prominence given to cattle and the elephant. The iconic character of the Nayar ritual therefore, cannot be regarded as pointing solely to the relationship with the Indus-civilization, as this character is generally Hindu. Still the fact in itself must be mentioned here.

9. The female element plays an absolutely subordinate role in the Vedic pantheon. The mother-goddess and Siva are missing in the early Vedas. The identification of the latter with Rudra took place much later. In the Indus-civilization, both the Mother-goddess and a Siva-like deity played a paramount role in religious observances. The female element there seems to have had an equal, if not superior place compared to the male element.

The same can be said with regard to the Rajputs, to matriarchally and Sivaistically influenced Southern India generally, and the Nayars in particular.

10. Fire-deities must have been characteristic in the religion of the early Vedas, but seem not to have been worshipped in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa.

No signs whatsoever indicate that fire-deities outside, or temporally anterior to the introduction of the Brahmin ritual were worshipped either by Nayars or by the Rajputs.

11. Phallic cults were not only practised but even abhorred by the early Aryans of India. The traces of this cult have been abundantly discovered on the sites of the Indus-civilization.

Phallic cults are not decidedly characteristic of Nayar ceremonies in particular, but pronouncedly of the South-Indian religious practices in general especially of those movements which, like the Lingayyat, exhibit a matriarchally influenced religious tendency, sufficiently explained already by the decidedly pro-feminist ideals of the originators, such as Basava and Ramayya.

These eleven points which, according to Sir John Marshall, prove the great culture-historic difference between the Vedic-Aryan and the Indus civilization, at the same time show that the NAY-group and the Indus-civilization have been allied to each other.

Let us see what the Baron says about Beluchistan and the Brahuis.

In Beluchistan the belief is often met with that "while among animals inheritance follows the father, amongst human beings it follows the mother."

L. E. Carter compares the patrilineal descent of the sons and the matrilineal of the daughters of intermarriage between the Sipar Baloch and the Brahui, *who speak a Dravidic language*, with a similar institution at intermarriages between Brahmins and the Khas or Nepal Rajputs. He furthermore connects both with a country of "Amazons," who, according to the accounts of Hiuen-Tiang and of Ptolemy, lived in India, westward of Rajputana. Carter, too, holds the view that hypergamy, obviously connected with this institution, was originally introduced by the conflict of the immigrating Aryan father-right with the indigenous Indian mother-right.

The large group of the South-West Indian Par-peoples (depressed classes or untouchables) have accepted its now entirely Dravidic language from the totemist peoples, but did so in many cases without taking over totemism itself.

(compare the pure and non-totemist mother-right in Kerala proper). This in itself is highly improbable. Not accepting this, we were asked to believe that the Dravidic languages were imported into South-Western India by the NAY-peoples, an assumption which seems supported by the whole affinity between Indus-civilization and the NAY-group and also by the remnants of Dravidic languages in Beluchistan and perhaps also in Eastern Iran.

The remnants of a matriarchally organised society found among the Brahui in Beluchistan are of greater importance and value than those found in other parts of India, as they have survived the strongly patriarchal system, under domination of which they still lurk in the far-off outpost of Indian mother-right. The fact that the Zikris only congregate in secret, when extolling the mother of Mohammed, instead of himself, points to the obvious tendency of transforming previous matriarchal into patriarchal social or religious forms. The same course of evolution is indicated by the remarkable fact that a bride's brother receives a traditionally paid reward if he agrees that his sister's (*i.e.* the bride's) family-name should not be mentioned at marriage. The position of the mother's brother and the express renunciation by the Brahui mother before the funeral of the rights to a dead child, again strengthens our conception.

To the Dravida-speaking Brahui of Beluchistan we must probably also trace the custom in some secret societies of Muslims in this country. (Zikris) of assembling around a fire on each of the 14th of the Arabian month (on Friday nights). They then pronounce the Muslim creed in an altered form, instead of saying; "There are no gods, besides the ONE and Mohammed is his messenger," the second part to "and the mother of Mohammed is his prophet."

On carefully going through the Census Report-1901, Baluchistan by R. Hughes-Buller, I find the following: "Instead of repeating" God is God and Muhammad is his Prophet," they exclaim in derision "God is God and mother of Muhammad is his Prophet."

The Baron in quoting the above on page 105 of his Monograph has omitted the words *in derision.*

The relationship between the NAY-group and the highly developed pre-Aryan Indus-civilization is one of the chief results of our comparative study on mother-right in India. The Dravidic languages may have been brought to Southern India by the NAY-peoples. The existence of the isolated Dravidic group in Beluchistan, near the sites of the excavated Indus-civilization, strengthens this hypothesis. Racially the NAY-people seem to have been Indides, as they are to this day.

Lastly I may state that the writer as a historian bases his conclusions on well-proved testimony and on a wide range of books which he has utilized with great diligence and consideration.

N. M. BILLIMORIA.

Marston Road,
Karachi, 9-5-1941.

# INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF ABU TURAB IN SIND.

(With two illustrations).

By N. M. BILLIMORIA.

When I read the following two paras in the Archaeological Report of Western India for the year 1930-31, I naturally tried to get a copy of the oldest historical record of any kind in Sind:

Page 217. Muslim Epigraphy. 1930-31. by Mr. Ghulam Yazdani.

The other two records received for examination from the Director General of Archaeology in India are from Gujo in the Mirpur Sakro Taluka of the Karachi District. As one of these records belongs to the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq (752-90H). and as it has not been published before, the Director General has requested to arrange for the taking of estampages with a view of printing them in the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.

Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni has kindly drawn the attention of the Government Epigraphist for Moslem Inscriptions to another record belonging to the reign of Sikandar Shah Lodi (894-923 H.) and as its text is inscribed in two languages Sanskrit and Persian, in both of which Mr. Sahni is proficient the Government Epigraphist has asked him to edit it for the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica. In the mean time it may be stated that the inscription records the building of a well during the reign of Sikandar Shah in 923H. (1517 A.D.).

I tried to obtain copy of the inscription; I wrote to my old friend R. B. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology in India, to Mr. Yazdani at Deccan Hyderabad; at last Mr. Q. M. Mooner, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey Western Circle, Poona, very kindly supplied me with a blue print copy of the inscription, which is re-produced here. I sub-join copy of his letter to me on the subject.

Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle,
54, Wellesley Road,
No. M-33-36, 1941.
Poona 5, dated the 7th Jany. 1941.

Dear Mr. Billimoria,

Kindly refer to your letter of 25th December 1940, regarding the two inscriptions mentioned on page 217 of this Department's Consolidated Report for the year 1930-31. The rubbings of the two inscriptions in question have not met my eye so far. They are probably lying—with Mr. G. Yazdani, the Muslim Epigraphist for India, Hyderabad Deccan, whom I have asked kindly to send them to me to see. As a result of my own survey of Persian and Arabic inscriptions in the Karachi District in 1938-39, I was able to trace only one inscription at the Shrine of Mir Abu Tarabi in the village of Gujjo in the Mirpur Sakro Taluka of the Karachi District. This was the only inscription that could be traced in that locality and it has been mentioned in the district Gazetteer of Karachi at its proper place. I wonder what the other inscription from Gujjo would be like if in reality that place yielded two inscriptions in the year 1930-31 as the Annual Report referred to above would have us believe. I feel like almost certain that Gujjo preserves only one inscription and cannot have supplied two. To this point, however, I shall be better able to advert after I have heard from Mr. G. Yazdani. The one inscription I found at Gujjo is dated 782 H. which corresponds to the time when Feroz Tughluk had acquired suzerainty over Lower Sind, after his predecessor's disastrous failure at Tatha in 1351 A.D. Feroz Tughluk was able to invade Sind in 1361-62 A.D. as a result of which he overpowered the ruling Summa sovereign of Tatha. From the enclosed blue print copy of the Gujjo inscription that I have in my possession it will be seen that the second line of its first couplet Feroz Tughluk is referred to as the Suzerain of Sind while the local ruler of Tatha who caused the inscription to be set up on the shrine of Mir Abu Turabi is named in it as Jam Alau'din. As I myself propose to publish this inscription along with many more which I have copied not only from the Karachi district but from every nook and corner of the Province of Sind during the last two years for my Department,. I hope you will forgive my preserving my reading of the enclosed inscription for the projected publication. In case you want to publish it yourself

INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF SHEKH ABU TURAB
AT GUJJO IN MIRPUR SAKRO TALUKA. SIND.

I have no objection provided you do so on the basis of your own reading. These Sind inscriptions particularly those from the Makli Hill are positively difficult and baffling by reason of the very subtle interlacing and interlocking of their Persian and Arabic letters which make up the words of those records. Due to this feature the reading of these inscriptions has not been quite an easy task for me, particularly when I can find little leisure from the more pressing calls on my time as the Superintendent of a Circle like the Western Circle with its 730 monuments to keep in a state of fit repair. This is the main reason for the delay in my publishing the corpus of Sind Muslim inscriptions which I am nevertheless trying my best to bring out as early as I can.

* * * *

In Aitken's Gazetteer of Sind page 91 it is stated that one great Shekh, by name Abu Turab, who took the important fortress of Bukkur, and did other deeds of valour, claims our interest because his tomb, situated at about 2 miles from the village of Gujjo in the Mirpur Sakro Taluka and about 10 miles from Tatta, and bearing the date 171 (A.D.788) must be the oldest historical record of any kind in Sind.

The blue print copy of the inscription on the tomb has been kindly supplied by Mr. Mooner, and that has been written in the current script and translated by Dr. G. M. Gurbuxani, M.A., PH.D. of the D.J. Sind Arts College, Karachi, for which trouble I am deeply grateful to him. The English translation of the inscription is as follows:

In the name of Allah, the best of names. In the reign of epoch making King, His Majesty Feroze Shah, the (most) victorious and the (most) successful in the line of kings, is (this) gate of highly venerable (gentleman) elevated (in honour) with his (the king's) order whose foot of glory shines higher than the head of the Sun. It is erected by Jam ~~Jharar son of~~ Aluddin ~~son of Bilal~~, from the blessings of whose favours the whole world is prosperous. The precincts of this dome which you say to the high without hesitation (lit. from purity) have as if come to be this Court-yard like the Kalea from Al Hidjaz. (This is) the resting place (or grave-yard) of Sheikh Haji Bu Turaff (*e.i.*, Aby Turab), The friend of Allah, on whose shrine (durgah) the needs of the needy get fulfilled. In the year 782 A.H. with the aid of Allah the merciful, the Promoter and the Bountiful, this auspicious dome was built by the humblest of (His) servants, Moosa son of Sajan, on the first of Safar (the 2nd month of the Muslim era.)

In the Encyclopaedia of Islam, under the heading Abu Turab I find the following description:

Abu Turab (Father of Dust) the Kunya of the Caliph Alib Talib, which is said to have been given him by Muhammad, and which is considered by the Shiites as an honorific surname, Noldike (in the Z. D. Deutsch Morgnl. Geselloch LIII. 29 et Sq.) however thinks this Kunya has rather been given Ali by his enemies as an injurious nickname; this is also the opinion of Sarasis (Das Bild Alisbeiden Historikernder Sunna (p. 34). But as the Shi-i-tis consider Abu Turab as an honorific name, it is often met with in the later epoch e.g. the celebrated Sufi whose supposed tomb Goldziher has given an interesting notice in his Muhammadan Studies, Vol., II p. 354. Goldziher also remarks (loc. cit. p. 121) that the followers of Ali are sometimes called Turabiya.

In the above, reference is made to Goldzier's Studies about Mohamedanism. It is in German. I obtained a copy of the extract from the book from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Calcutta, and got it translated by Rev. Petronius O.F.M. of Karachi.

But this refers to quite a different person.

The date on the tomb is not clear, as the following extracts from Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg's KADIM SIND shows:

Page 10. The port of Bakur was first built by Sheikh Abu Turab who conquered the town.

Page 125. MIRPUR SAKRO. This is a big town. At a distance of ten miles is situated the tomb of Sheikh Haji Turab. This Sheikh Abu Turab about whom we have spoken earlier and who secured the fort of Baker, was an Arab and came to Sind during the ascendancy of the Abaside Califate. It is said about this Sheikh that he converted a tyrant Hindu King of the place by name Tharna by the power of his curse into a piece of hard stone, which still can be seen. The date on the tomb is not clear, which may be read as either 171 A. H. or 771 A. H. At this place monthly fairs or festivities are held.

The above was kindly translated for me from the original Sindhi by my friend Mr. C. L. Marivalla, B.A. of the D. J. Sind College, Karachi.

# THE JATS.

By N. M. Billimoria.

(*Read before the Sind Historical Society on 30th April* 1941.)

When the Muhammadans first appeared in Sindh, towards the end of the seventh century, the Zaths and Meds were the chief population of the country. The original seat of the Medi or Med colony was in the Punjab proper, the original seat of the Iatii or Jat colony must have been in Sindh. The Jats joined the Meds at first and opposed the advance of the Arabs, but afterwards they were induced to join the foreign invaders against their rival brethren. In the beginning of the eleventh century the Jats were bold enough to plunder the army of Muhmud, when he returned from Somnath. Ferishta says that they then occupied the Jud mountains and the plain beneath them, which was intersected by rivers.

At the present day the Jats are found in every part of the Punjab, where they form about two-fifths of the population. They are chiefly Mahomedans and are divided into about a hundred tribes. Col. Tod in his Rajasthan acknowledges that the Jats are not Rajputs, The jats held low position in the social scale is well known.

When Muhamad Kassim enquired how the Jats of the Luhana tribe had been treated by Chach and Dahar, Vazir Siyakar gave the following description, as given in the Chachnama. "In the reign of Rai Chach the Luhanahs, that is the Lakhahs and the Summahs (both of them were Hindus originally) were not allowed to use soft clothes of silk or velvet. On the contrary they used to wear a rough black blanket, and put on a rough coarse scarf on their shoulders, and they went about with bare head and feet. If any of them wore some soft stuff, he was fined, and when they went out of their houses, they used to take a dog with them, in order that they might easily be distinguished from the other tribes. None of their elders or chiefs was allowed to ride a horse. If any guides were required anywhere by any prince, they served as such. In fact it was their business to show the way as guides upto the limits of another tribe. If any headman or Rana was obliged to use a horse, he rode it without any saddle or reins, and with only a blanket on its back. If any accident occurred to any traveller,

the Jat tribes were called to help, and it was the duty of their headmen to see such help was given readily. If any one of them committed theft, his children and the other members of his family were thrown into flames and burnt. They guided caravans on their way both during day time and at night. Among them there is no distinction of high and low; they are all of the wild nature of brutes. They have always been refractory and disobedient to the rulers; and are in the habit of committing highway robberies. In the robberies committed some time ago on the high roads of Debal, they were probably concerned as accomplices. It was also a duty of theirs to supply firewood for the royal kitchen, to collect provisions for the personal use of the king, and to keep watch over his person, as his body guards."

Hearing this account of the Luhanah Jats, Muhamad Kassim remarked "What a villainous set of people they are. They are quite like the wild men, living in some villages of Fars and Mount Payeh, and they should now be treated as such. Mahomed Kassim orderd that if any stranger or a traveller should arrive within their limits, they were bound to entertain him with food as a guest for a day and night, and if he fell sick for three days."

Regarding this passage in the Chachnama, Prof. Hodivala in his Studies in Indo-Moslim History, writes as follows:—

There is some blundering here; as the averment is utterly inconsistent with the general import of the paragraph. These unfortunate people who were treated as helots or outcastes and pariahs of the human race could scarcely have been permitted to disport themselves in outer garments of red or black *silk*, though the wearing of under-garments of shawl, velvet and silk was strictly prohibited. The cruel treatment meted out to them is again mentioned on page 187. But there we are told that they "were *not allowed to wear soft clothes* or cover their heads with velvet; but they were to wear a *black blanket beneath* and throw a sheet of cloth over their shoulders."

The error is probably due to a misunderstanding of the meaning of a word like Padash پداش which really signifies some kind of coarse cloth of hair, or wool, but which has been rendered here as "silk."

Chach treated the Jats just like "Chandals." Manu says of the latter that "they should be made to live outside the town, that their sole wealth must be dogs and asses, their clothes must consist of the cero-cloths of the dead; and their dishes broken pots and their ornaments of rusty iron." (Institutes X, 12, 29-30). The Jats are said to be the oldest inhabitants of Sind and to have been reduced to a state of serfdom by the Aryan or some other conquerors.....Crooke has pointed out that not very long ago, the Rajputs in the Punjab actually treated the Jats in exactly the same way.

"They would not allow the Jats to cover their head with a turban nor to wear even red clothes nor to put a crown (Mor) on the head of their bridegroom or a jewel (Nath) in the women's nose. They also used to levy segnorial rights from virgin brides. Even to this day Rajputs will not allow inferior people to wear red clothes or ample loin-cloths in their villages." (Tribes and Castes of the N. W. Provinces, 1896, III, 23).

Another parallel comes from Gujarat:

Forbes in his Ras Mala writes; In the days of Sidhraj Jaysinha the Dheds were compelled to wear....only untwisted cotton round their heads and a stag's horn as a mark hanging from their waists, so that people might be able to avoid touching them."

The injunction regarding dogs must have been imposed to indicate that they were outcastes. Sir Danzil Ibbetson says of the Punjab Nats:—a vagrant tribe of so-called gypsy dancers, acrobats and prostitutes—that "their chief occupation is the keeping of dogs with which they hunt and eat the vermin of the jungle" (Punjab Ethnography, Section 588, apud Crooke, Tribes and Castes, IV, 58)."

V. A. Smith in the Early History of India writes that the Jats or Jats, more exclusively agricultural, are recognised universally to be akin to the Gujars, although it is impossible to devine the relationship. Neither Jats nor Gujars are accounted to rank as Rajputs or Kshatriyas, but most of the Punjab Jats claim Rajput descent."

Crooke in his Native Races of Northern India says that the Jats are a most interesting people; he calls Jat a typical yeoman, and the finest farmer in Northern India; his knowledge

of crops and cattle is unrivalled, and his industry is unceasing; he cares little for the Brahman and his rites; the keen wit of the country side gibes at him as stolid boor. The author adds that the character of the Jat is reflected in his religion and tribal custom; considerably more than half the followers of the Sikh faith come from the Jats.

Some scholars believe that the Scythyians poured down upon India in such masses as to supplant the previous population. The jats or Jàts are identified with the Getae; and their great sub-division the Dhe with the Dahae, whom Strabo places on the shores of the Caspian. Eminent writers like Prof. H.H. Wilson and General Cunningham support this view. The existing division between the Jàts and the Dhe has been traced back to the contiguity of the Massa-getae or Great Gatae (Massa means great in Pehlevi), and the Dahae, who dwelt side by side in central Asia, and who may have advanced together during the Scythian movements towards India on the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian Empire. The weight of authority is in favour of a Scythian origin of the Jats, the most numerous and valuable section of the agricultural population of the Punjab. The relationship between the Jats and the Rajputs, although obscure is admitted; and although the jus connubii no longer exists between them an inscription seems to show that they inter-married in the 5th century A.D. This inscription was found in Kotah State. Professor Cowell regards as inconclusive the arguments for the Scythic descent of the Rajputs. But well known authorities have deduced a Scythic origin for the Jats and for certain of the Rajput tribes. Mr. Danzil Ibbetson, the Chief Census Officer for the Punjab in 1881 concludes; First, that the terms Rajput and Jat indicate a difference in occupation and not in origin; second, that even if they represent distinct waves of migration, separated by an interval of time, they belong to the one and the same ethnic stock. Third, that whether Jats and Rajputs were or were not originally distinct the two now form a common stock; the distinction between Jat and Rajput being social rather than ethnic."

I mentioned above an inscription found at Kotah. Sir A. Cunningham in the Archaeological Report for 1863-64 writes:

"It may perhaps be objected to my proposed identification of the Jats with the Indo-Scythians, that they are included as Col. Tod says (Tod's Rajesthan, I, 88)" in all the ancient catalogues of the thirty-six royal races of India." But I

meet this objection at once by referring to Col. Tod's five printed lists, of which only *one* contains the name of Jit. But the utter worthlessness of this list, which is taken from a Gujrati Ms. of the Kumara Pala Charitra, is proved by the insertion of the *Kathi*, who are universally admitted not to be Rajputs, as well as by the omission of such well known names as the Rathor, Kachwaha, and Bais. That the Jats are not Rajputs is also acknowledged by Col. Tod himself, when he confesses his ignorance" of any instance of a Rajput's inter-marriage with a Jit." But when making this confession he must have forgotten his translation of a "Memorial of a Jit Prince of the fifth century," who is said to have married "two wives of Yadu race." Now, if any dependence could be placed on the perfect accuracy of Colonel Tod's translation, I would at once admit that this inscription proves the Rajput origin of the Jats beyond all possibility of doubt. But the low position which the Jats hold in the social scale is so well known that, without any hesitation whatever, I conclude that the published version must be inaccurate. Perhaps the word which Colonel Tod has read as Jith and Jit should be Jin or Jina.

Col. Tod writing about the Indian Desert says; "Zjhut, Jut, or Jit. ....This very original race, far more numerous than perhaps all the Rajpoot tribes put together, still retains its ancient appellation throughout the whole of Sinde from the sea to Daodpotra, but there are few or none in the t'hul. Their habits differ little from those who surround them. They are amongst the oldest converts to Islam." About a century before the Christian era the Saka or Scythian hordes before whom the Bactrian kindgom had fallen, began to pour into India. This was worse than Persian, Greek or Bactrian for the Scythians did not come to conquer, but to possess. Wave followed wave, sweeping away, or swamping, the native inhabitants until some stern barrier was reached against which they beat in vain. Such a barrier for a time was the kingdom of Uujein under the great Vikramaditya, from whose victorious resistance to the Scythians the Hindu Samvat era (57 B.C.) is supposed to date. On the east of Sind the great desert must have constituted a barrier of another sort. Behind it were Rajput races, with whom their kindred, the Sama and Sumra, might find an asylum. But west of it we shall not be wrong in assuming that Greek and Hindu alike were almost obliterated for a time. Sind became known as Indo-Skythia, and to this day, states Aitken, in the Sind Gazeteer, a large proportion of the population is certainly Scythian, not Aryan. The new religion of the Muslims

was spreading like fire, and before the death of Chach in 671 the Arab soldiers made more than one tentative attack on Sind by sea. Their approach by land had been retarded by the determined resistance of the Jats of Jhalawan.

I reproduce a footnote from the Sind Gazetteer:

Two Scythian tribes, the Jats and Meds, are mentioned as having invaded the Punjab and Sind at this time and their conflicts disturbed the Indus valley for centuries after. The former have not even lost their name, though they may have greatly, mixed their blood. The latter seem to have disappeared, but some of the Muhanas of Sind call themselves Med and it is the name of the corresponding community in Makran. On the other hand Ibn Haukal, The Arabian geographer who wrote some time between 943 and 968 A.D. describes the Jats as people who lived in morasses formed by the mouth of the Indus, constructed huts of reeds and subsisted on fish and waterfowl. He may have named them wrongly, for he also mentions inland Jats, who lived, like Kurds, on milk, cheese and dorra bread. The whole subject is very obscure and becomes hopelessly so if we admit the story of the Mujmal-ut-Tawaarikh that the Jats and Meds were reconciled and wisely ruled by the wife of the Aryan King Jayadrath above-mentioned, which would push back their arrival in Sind by eleven or twelve centuries. It is wisest perhaps to adopt the pious author's conclusion. "God only knows the truth."

I may add that Jayadrath was an Aryan king of Sind in the 12th or 13th century B. C.

The Punjab Imperial Gazetteer states that the Jat or Jât as he is termed in the south-east of the Province is essentially a landlord (Zamindar) and when asked his caste usually replies "Jat Zamindar." The Jats are divided into numerous tribes and septs, and many of these hold considerable areas which are divided into village communities. By religion they are essentially Hindus; and they also comprise the great mass of the Sikhs. The Sikh Jats are mainly confined to the central districts of the Punjab. Large numbers of them have from time to time been converted to Islam. As cultivators the Hindu or Sikh Jats rank higher than any class in the Province, and they make enterprising colonists and excellent soldiers, the Sikh holding a marked pre-eminence in these respects. The Muhammadan Jat lacks the energy of his Hindu and Sikh Kinsman, but he is not far behind him as a cultivator.

In the end let us see what Burton writes about the Jats in his 'Unhappy Valley:'

"Our authors (particularly Captain Postans) err when they suppose that the Jats to be the aboriginal Hindoo of Scinde converted to Islam. Native historians and their own traditions concur in assigning to them a strange origin; their language, to this day a corrupt dialect of that spoken throughout the Indine provincos of the Punjab, gives support and real value to the otherwise doubtful testimony. It is probable that compelled to emigrate from their own lands, by one of the two main causes that bring about such movements in the East, war or famine they travelled southward about the beginning of the eighteenth century of our era.

Under the Kalora dynasty, when Scindians composed the aristocracy as well as the commonalty of the country, the Jats, in consequence of their superior strength, their courage, and their clannish coalescence, speedily rose to high distinction. The chiefs of tribes became nobles, officials and ministers at court; they provided for their families by obtaining grants of land feofs incidential to certain military services—and for their followers by settling them as tenants on their wide estates. But the prosperity of the race did not last long. They fell from their high estate when the Belochies, better men than they, entered the country, and began to forage for themselves in it; by degree, slow yet sure, they lost all claims to rank, wealth and office. They are found scattered throughout Scinde, generally preferring the south-eastern provinces, where they earn a scanty subsistence by agriculture, or they roam over the barren plains feeding their flocks upon the several oases; or they occupy themselves in breeding, tending, training and physicking the camel. With the latter craft their name has become identified a Jat and a sarwan (a camel-man) being synonymous in Scindian ears.

The Jats in appearance are a swarthy and uncomely race, dirty in the extreme; long, gaunt, bony, and rarely, if ever, in good condition. Their beards are thin, and there is a curious expression in their eyes. They dress like Scindians, preferring blue to white clothes, but they are taller, larger, and more un-Indian in appearanco. Some few, but very few, of their women are, in early youth, remarkable for soft and regular features; their charm, however, soon yields to the complicated ugliness brought on by exposure to the sun, scanty living, and

labour of baggage cattle. In Scindia the Jats of both sexes possessed of the virtues especially belonging to the oppressed and inoffensive Eastern cultivator; they are necessarily frugal and laborious, peaceful, and remarkable for morality in the limited sense of aversion to intrigue with members of a strange kaum. [In the language of the Jat, a "kaum" is a clan]. I say, in Scinde; this is by no means the reputation of the race in the other parts of Central Asia, where they are extended. The term "Jat," is popularly applied to a low and servile creature, or to an impudent villian; and in spite of the Tohfat el Kiram (the author of this well known Persian History of Scinde, asserts that the Jats and the Belochies are both sprung from the same ancestors), A Beloch would consider himself mortally affronted were you to confound his origin with the caste his ancestors deposed, and which he despises for having allowed itself to be degraded. The Brahuis, Afghans, and Persians, all have a bad word to say of them."

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Burton in his 'Races and Tribes of Sind' writes about the Jats that the Jat, or as others write the word, Jath, Juth, or Jutt, was, in the time of the Kalhoras, one of the ruling classes in Sindh. It was probably for this reason that the author of the Tohfat-el-Kiram made them of kindred origin with the Balochis, who now repudiate such an idea with disdain. The Jat's account of his own descent, gives to Ukail, the companion of the Prophet, the honour of being his progenitor. But what class of Moslem people however vile, do not claim some equally high origin? As Jatki the dialect peculiar to the people, proves, they must have come from the Punjab, and the other districts, as Ubho (or Baladasht) Jangh Siyal, Multan &c. dependent upon the great Country of the Five Rivers. Driven by war or famine from their own lands, they migrated southward to Sebee and the hills around it. They are supposed to have entered Sindh, a little before the accession of the Kalhora princes, and shortly afterwards to have risen to distinction by their superior courage and personal strength. At present they have lost all that distinguished them, and of their multitude of Jagirdars, Zemindars, and Sardars now not a single descendant possesses anything like wealth or rank. Their principal settlements are in the provinces of Kakralo, Jati, Chediyo, Maniyar, Phulajee and Johi. They are generally agriculturists, or breeders of camels, and appear to be a quiet inoffensive race of people. In the eastern parts of Central Asia the name Jat is synonymous with thief and scoundrel.

Burton adds a few notes on the above;
Jat in the Sindhi dialet means, 1, a camel driver or breeder of camels; 2, the name of a Beloch clan. Jat, or, written as it is pronounced, "Dyat" has three significations; 1, the name of a tribe (the Jats); 2, A Sindhi, as opposed to a Beloch—in this sense an insulting expression. So the Belochis and Brahuis of the hills call the Sindhi language "Jathki"; 3, a word of insult, a barbarian, as in the expression, do-dasto Jat, an utter savage.

Burton adds that under the name Jat no less than four distinct races are comprised.

It appears probable, from the appearance and other peculiarities of the race, that the Jats are connected by consanguinity with that peculiar race the Gypsies.

The late Deputy Collector Ansari in his "Mussalman Races" writes about the Jat Baloch;

The expression "Jat Baloch" means "camel-driving Baloch" In Mir Chakar's time, a number of low caste Balochis was employed in loading, leading and grazing his trains and flocks of camels and those Balochis and their descendants were called "Jat Baloch." The Jat Baloch tribe is now found in the Jati Taluka of the Karachi District and in Katch Bhuj territory. Their Chief Malik Ghulam Husen, son of Malik Jahan Khan, commonly called "Raj Malik" or "Malik Raj" lives in Raj Malik, a small village in Taluka Jati. The Septs of this tribe are 37.

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Since writing the above I have come across an interesting article "Arabic version of the Mahabharata legend" by H. C. Harshe in the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vo. II, Nos. 3-4. I subjoin an extract from this relating to the Jatts and Medes. I have omitted some of the footnotes, and some words in the footnotes are put in parenthesis.

"M. Reinaud Membre de l'Institute Paris has published, in 1845, an important book under the title "Fragments Arabes et Persans, inédits relatifs à l'Inde, anterieurment au XIe siecle de l'ere chrétienn." We find in it a chapter with the text and a translation in French of a Persian work named "Modjmel-altevarykh." The name of the chapter itself is "History of the Kings of India and their chronological order according to

the information which has come to our knowledge." This chapter is an extract from a work which had been drawn up, in 1026 A.D. from an Arabic work by Abdul Hassan-Ali-ben Mohammed, the Librarian of the Prince of the city of Djordjan (Jurjan), near the shores of the Caspian Sea. The Arabic work itself was the translation of a Sanskrit work, by Abou-Saleh son of Schoayb and the Sanskrit original had the title of which the Arabic rendering is "Instruction of the Princes." The importance of this work is that neither the original Sanskrit work of the name nor its Arabic version has so far been quoted anywhere. It gives, besides the legend of the Mahabharata, some other historical and semi-historical legends which are not yet properly identified. The object of this article is to give the Arabic version of the Mahabharata legend as translated into French by M. Reinaud from the original Persian work: "Modjmel-altevarykh."

Extract No. 1.

"I saw an old book coming from the Indians, which has been translated from the Indian language into Arabic by Abou-Saleh, son of Schoayb (Shuayb), son of Djami (Jami), and which has been translated into Persian from the Arabic, in the year 417 by Aboul-Hassan Ali, son of Mahomed al-Hablati, keeper of the city library of Djordjan (Jurjan) for a sipebed (that is chieftain) of the Dilemites. The copy on which I have worked was from the hand of the translator himself and gives the date mentioned above. In this work, according to the custom of the wise of India, the language is often in the mouth of the animals and birds, in the same manner as in the book entitled Kalila and Dimna. I have taken out an extract from this work of the description of the origin of Kings with a short account of their history, and I have reproduced it here for want of a more suitable place. (As it is nowhere to be found God knows better). God alone knows the truth.

History of the Zath and the Meyd.

As the original book begins with this chapter, we shall begin in the same way. This is what one reads in it.

There are two tribes (gorouh) in the country of Sind, and one river named Beher. One of these tribes was called Meyd and the other Zath; both descended from Cham (Ham) (son of Noah). To this day still in the Arabic language the Indians

are called (from the country) Zath. (The Meyds were obviously the Medes, the inhabitants of Media, which is the ancient name of the north-western part of Iran (modern Azerbaijan, Ardelan, Iraq Ajemi and parts of Kurdistan). The earliest historical reference to them goes as far back as 836 B.C. They seem to belong to the Indo-Iranian (Aryan) stock. One of their heroes Cyaxares (Uvaksatra) fought with and overpowered the Assyrians in 616 B.C. Is he the same as Aviksitah referred to in the Ait. Br. 8.21; Sat. Br. 13-5-46 and Mbh. Santi, 28? Under Darius the Great Sind was first invaded in 515 B.C. by the Persians. The Meds most probably have accompanied them unless the old Sanskrit tradition recorded by the Arab author is to be set aside.

It might be added here that the Greek word for the Medes is Madoi while the old Persian word is Mada. In the opinion of Dr. Taraporewala Mada is the same as Madra in Sanskrit.....

No definite information about the origin and antiquity of the tribe (Jats) is available. The Sind Gazetteer mentions it as one of the Scythian tribes (P. 87). The Jats have been identified with Zanthii of Strabo, and Jatti of Pliny and Ptolemy (Jodh. Gaz. p. 83). According to the Indian mythical tradition they are said to have been descended from the hair (jàtà) of Siva.

It is said that the Meyd subjugated the Zath and treated them very harshly. The Zath, forced to leave their country, withdrew to the banks of the river Pehen, where they established their home.

(Pahn. It is probably the same river which is named, some lines above, as Beher. It is difficult to identify this river. The Sind Gazetteer describes one river named Baghar (meaning 'the destroyer") which is the western branch of the Indus, diverging a little to the south of the town of Tatta and having numerous branches or offshoots from it (ed. 1874, p. 272). The other two names that might be considered in this connection are the Baran and the Puran rivers).

They knew the art of navigation and they penetrated into the territory of the Meyd through water. The latter reared sheep. At last, the Zath troubled the Meyd very much; they killed several of them and created havoc in their territory. The Meyd found themselves at the mercy of the Zath.

One day, one of the chiefs of the Zath said to them: Fortune never remains the same; lately the Meyd had the upper hand with regard to us, and now we are dominating them. We shall consult together, and delegates will go in our name to the king Dujoshan. It would be wiser to make peace with them. (douryodhana?) son of Dahran (Dhritarachtra). We shall request the king that he should send a person to rule over this land, in such a way that we and the Meyd would find ourselves under his orders". The proposition was agreed to and the people replied "do what you think proper". Consequently after much discussion and speeches, what the chief had proposed was put into execution. King Douryodhana gave this country to his sister named Dusal (Duhsala) who was the daughter of Dritarchtra (Dahrab). The Princess was given in marriage to Jandrat who was a powerful prince.

. The Prince and the Princess then occupied Sind and its towns. The account of that and of the wisdom of the Princess is to be found in the orginal book. There were not, in this region, rather the wise nor the Brahmanas who had attained to this stage of greatness (Lit. never in the history of that region, had the wise men or Brahmans attained to this height of greatness). The Princess wrote a long letter about this to her brother. Dowryodhana brought together thirty thousand Brahamanas from different parts of India, and sent them with their daughters and relatives to his sister. The original book recounts the long discussions and interviews of all sorts on this head. It is suggested here that Jayadratha was deputed to Sind, as its king, by Dourydhana at the request of the warring tribes of Zath and Meyd, but according to the Mbh. Jayadratha was the son of Vrddhakstra who himself was the ruler of Sind. Besides Sind, Jayadratha was also the ruler of Sauvira and Sibi (Mbh. Vana.266) and had six brothers. Since the Arabs were the early invaders of Sind, it is probable that they might have been in possession of the earlier sources of the history of Sind and it would be worth while to collect more evidence on the point from the Arabic sources, if possible.

During this time the country of Sind became populous. The book gives the description of its provinces, rivers and whatever was found to be very remarkable. (In the original Persian text it is stated: "The book contains descriptions of the foundation of the country, its rivers and other rare and strange objects not to be found elsewhere.") Several cities were founded,

notably the capital, which was named Askeland (Also named "Askelendouse"; There is a province called Iskandah given in the Sind Gazetteer (p.88) which might be a corrupt form of Askeland; but the city of that name is nowhere to be traced in later documents). One part of the country was given to the Zath, who accepted as their own chief a man called Djoudarat Yuddharatha ?) The Meyd also received a special territory Djayadratha exercised the authority of 20 and some odd years, until the sovereign power escaped from the hands of the Bharata; that is what is going to be said in the following chapter.

# 'With Sir John Keane, through Sind'

By C. L. MARIWALLA, B.A.

(*Read before the Sind Historical Society on 25th June* 1941.)

By the first quarter of the 19th century, Britain had been able to acquire political control over a large portion of India. Natural enough it became imperative for them to pay full attention to guard the frontiers of the newly acquired empire, lest some one coveting this covetous sub-continent should suddenly swoop down while the British were taking things easy. Lord William Bentinck perceived the danger from Russia. He wrote an able minute on the subject, (1) wherein he pointed out the necessity of the British fully organising their defence forces in India as he anticipated a Russian alliance with Persia with the ultimate aim of falling on the British possessions in India. By 1836 Lord Aukland had definite information that Persia was proceeding on the line of the Indus to Afghanistan at Russian instigation. It was therefore essential that the British should have a friendly ally on the throne of Kabul. Dost Md:, the Afghan Chief, was quite ready for an alliance with the British. He even went to the extent of detaining the Russian and Persian envoys to have an interview with Sir Alexander Burnes, the British envoy, who was visiting the Afghan capital within a few days. But Britain could not and did not offer anything to Dost Md: for the alliance. He merely wanted the aid and advice of the British to get back Peshawar from Ranjitsing, since this place was originally a part of the Afghan dominions. Ranjitsing was already a British ally and hence Dost.Md:'s request could not be acceded to. Finding the British too cold for an alliance, Dost Md. turned to the waiting envoys to compose his differences with them. (2) Thus it was necessitated that the British should re-install the dethroned monarch, Shah Shuja on the Afghan throne as he was the required type of an ally that the British needed on the Kabul throne to fully safeguard their interests. With this end in view the Tripartite Treaty between Shah Shuja, Ranjitsing and the British was signed on 26th June 1838. (3) The British intention was that 'they should hover like a vast menace at Shikarpur on the Indus, while Shah Shuja supported by the Sikhs, entered Afghanistan amid the welcome of a delighted nation.' (4) "Ranjitsing however managed to reverse the method entirely, it was the Sikhs who contemptuously held the passes, for a remnant of the shattered British forces to struggle back." (5) By the Tripartite Treaty

Ranjitsing was to receive Rupees Fifteen lakhs as compensation, and something more totalling Rupees Twenty eight lakhs in all was to be fleeced from Sind in lieu of the tribute due to Shah Shuja from the Ameers of Sind, which he said was in arrears, though the Sind Ameers had produced Koranic receipts of the settlement of the tribute with the signature of Shah Shuja on them. (6) Since British forces than the sikh were to go to the succour of Shah Shuja it was necessary that a part of these forces should pass through Sind and a reserve force be stationed in the Ameer's dominions at suitable points. So enormous was to be the contribution of unwilling independent Sind to reinstal its former formal suzerain. According to plans a Division of the Bengal Army was to start from Ferozpur and meet the Bombay Division passing through Sind at Shikarpur. In this paper I intend to follow the route taken by the Bombay Division through Sind. The accounts furnished by some who actually took part in the Afghan Campaign make the study worth-while and interesting.

The Bombay Division of the Army of the Indus, consisted of the following:—

H.E. Lieut. General Sir John Keane, K.C.B., G.C.H. Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army; Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Indus.

Lieut. Colonel R. Macdonald, K.H., H.M. 4th Foot (D.A.G. Q.T. Bombay) Officiating Military Secretary and Aid-de-Camp.

Lieut. E. A. W. Keane, H.M. 2nd. Foot; Aid-de-Camp.

Captain Outram, 23rd Bombay N. I. Extra Aid-de-Camp.

Captain T.S. Powell, H.M. 40th Foot, Persian Interpreter and Extra Aid-de-Camp.

Asstt. Surgeon B. P. Rooke, Surgeon.

Bombay Column:—

Major General Willshire, C.B., Commanding the Division.

General Staff:—

Major Kieth, D.A.G.
Captain Hagart, A.G.G.
Major N. Campbell, Acting Qr. Master General.
Lieut. J. Ramsay, D.A.Q.M.G.
Captain A. C. Peat, Chief Engineer.
Captain D. Davidson, Senior A.C.G.

Captain Stockley, S.A.C.G.
Lieut. Threshie, S.A.C.G.
Lieut. Wardell, Acting S.A.C.G.
Lieut. Hogg, S.A.C.G. Charge of Bozars.
Captain Swanson, Paymaster.
Captain Warden, Commanding Ordnance.
Captain Bulkley, D.J.A.G.
Lieut. Jephson, Post Master.
Lieut. North, Field Engineer.
Lieut. Marriot, Field Engineer.
Dr. R. H. Kennedy M.D., Superintending Surgeon.
Surgeon Pinhey, Field Surgeon.
Asstt. Surgeon Don, Medical Storekeeper.
Rev. G. Piggot., Chaplain.
Ensign Malcolm, Baggage Master.

| Cavalry:—Divisional Staff. | Brigade Staff. | Corps. | Commanding Officers. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Major General Thakwell. | Lt.-Col. J. Scott, 4th. L. D. | 2 Squadrons H.M. 4th Light Dragoons. | Major Dalry. |
| | Lt. Campbell, 4th L.D.,A.D.C. | 1st, Regiment light Cavalry. | Lt. Col. Sandwith, Brigadier |
| | Capt. Gillespie, H. M. 4th. L.D., M.B. | 300 Poona Auxilary Horse. | Major D. Cunningham |
| | | 300 Poona Auxilary Horse | Captain Ward. |

| Artillery:—Brigade. Staff. | Corps. | Commanding Officer. |
|---|---|---|
| Lt.-Col. Stevenson, Brigadier. | 4 Troops Horse Artillery with 4 six Pounders, 2 Twelve Pounders, 3 Howitzers. | Captain Martin. |
| | 4 Troops Horse Artillery with:— 4 Six Pounders, 2 Twelve Pounders. | Captain Leeson Cotgrove. |
| | 2 Howitzers. | Captain Lloyd. |
| Lt. Woosnam, A.D.C. | 2nd. Co: 2nd. Battalion Foot Artillery with:— 6 Twentyfour Pounders 1 Howitzer. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1st. Co. 2nd. Battalion Foot Artillery with:— 6 Nine Pounders. 4 Field Pieces. | Captain Pouterdent. |
| Captain Coghlan, Brigade Major. | 1st. Company Golundazee. | (7) |

The following was the material with the Artillery:—

2 Eighteen Pounders Iron Bombay Guns With 1000 lbs of shot per gun.
500 spherical cases gun.
100 common cases gun.

6 Eight-Inch Howitzers with 300 Common Shell per Howitzer.
200 spherical case do.
50 Case and Glope do.
60 Carcases.

Fieldpieces. About 670 rounds of all kinds per Gun and Howitzer.
2 Mortar Beds for 24 Pounder Howitzers.
2 ,, ,, ,, 12 ,, ,,
2,500 Hand Grenades. (8)

| *Infantry*:— | Fist Brigade. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Divisional staff. | Brigade staff. | Corps. | Commanding Officer. |
| Major Genl. Willshire, C.B., Commanding 2nd Division of the Army of the Indus. | Col. Baumgarot, Brigadier 2nd Queens Royals. | H.M. 2nd. Queens Royals. | Major Carruthers. |
| Captain Robinson 2nd. Queens, A.D.C. | Captain Kershaw 13th Light Infantry, A.D.C. | H.M. 17th Foot. | Lt.-Col. Croker |
| Lt. Halkett, A. D. C. | Captain Wyllie, 21st. N. I., M.B. | 19th Regiment N.I. | Lt.-Col. Stalker. |
| | | Sappers and Miners. | Lt. Wemyss. |
| Second Brigade. | | | |
| Brigadier Gordon | | 1st Grenadiers N.I. | Major Billomore. |
| | | 5th Regiment N.I. | Major Aitchison |
| | | 23rd Regiment N.I. | Major Wilson, (8a) |

For this Division of the Army of the Indus the one most difficult problem for its passage through Sind was an ample supply of necessary conveyance and provisions. The Talpur "Ameers could be cajoled into signing a treaty" for the passage of the army but for its food supply and other necessaries an efficient arrangement had to be made privately. Col. Pottinger, resident at the Sind Court, found a very capable and reliable Indian gentleman to whom this task could be safely entrusted. He was Seth Naoomal, a merchant of Karachi, who had his business branches in every important town in Sind. Col. Pottinger accordingly wrote to Seth Naoomal for supplying provisions for the army, including rice, wheat, gram, barley, bajri etc., and also 2,000 camels and about a 1,000 bullocks of burden, for which he sent the Seth a hundi for Rs. 2 Lakhs (Kori) on Bhooj, and other hundis on Bombay, Calcutta etc., to be cashed as the need arose. (9) The stores and conveyance were to be sent to Ghorabari or Vikkur where the army was to land, to the address of Moonshi Madho, a resident of Bhooj, who acted as the British Agent. Seth Naoomal gladly accepted the offer to help the British forces and assiduously applied himself to the task. He started purchasing grains at Karachi which raised the prices, consequently giving a handle to the local officers of the Ameers to instigate the poorer Mussalmans to raise a clamour at Seth Naoomal's place. Seth Naoomal paid no heed to the clamour of the Muslim throng of a 1,000 strong collected at his door and went on buying grain as usual. (10) He also sent instructions to his Goomashtas at Sehwan and Sonmiani to purchase grains and pass them on to Ghorabari. With regard to camels Seth Naoomal's exertions at Karachi were frustrated by the local officers of the Talpur Government. He thought it prudent to move to Gharro, where he expected less interference and better prospect of completing the quota required, though he had securedat Karachi 500 camels of the Brahmani Belochees. On arrival at Gharro, Seth Naoomal summoned the headmen of the Memons of Malir and the Jokhia tribes of Momat, Tiber, Band, Satar, Hothi etc; and engaged their camels. Their Chief, Maherali, was also bought over for Rs. 2,000, lest he should create some mischief. The Seth also procured 500 bullocks from Sakro. Seth Naoomal apprised Col. Pottinger of the progress of his work and the latter acknowledged the former's skill and ability and expected a great satisfaction on the coming prospect. But a lot of time had elapsed in these transactions, with the result that the Bombay Army had landed on the Sind soil before sufficient materials could be procured for their onward march. The army arrived at Vikkur on the Hujamri mouth of the Indus on 23rd November 1838. (11) But

they did not disembark till 1st December. The army had had to remain on water for a week as the Transport agent arrived only on the 30th and no one else before him was prepared to take risks of disembarkation on a foreign soil to which they were never accustomed. (12) Immediately after the arrival of the Transport agent, the disembarkation began. It was rather a quiet affair. Thirty to forty country boats, fit to carry a hundred men each, were employed to land the troops near the camping ground at Bamnicote, 28 miles up the stream on the west bank. (13) H. E. the Commander-in-Chief left his steamer for camp on 3rd. December at 9 a.m. (14).

The resident, "Col. Pottinger had collected a good number of native boats—flat bottomed—which are admirably adapted for the navigation of the river. Nearly all the heavy stores of the army were sent by them as far as Bukkur. Their progress up the river was however very slow and consequently they detained the army greatly several times." (15) Great labour was required in landing the guns and their carriages and to harness them for a forward movement. The horses of the army were sent up from Bombay in country crafts. (16) All of them arrived in good condition except 16 horses of the 3rd troop costing Rs. 9000, as the boat carrying them capsized at the bar at the mouth of the river. (17) Though the army had landed, it could not march forward for the reasons alluded to above. The Talpurs inspite of their external show of friendship tried to put all sorts of impediments in the movement of the army. Dr. Kennedy sums up the situation admirably;— "The Ameers of Sind though too conscious of their inability to resist the landing of the army to offer any hostility, were too far from being gratified with the presence of British forces in their country, to omit every species of covert and passive resistance in their power. Thus boundless promises were made without the slightest intention of fulfilling any part thereof; and their underlings in every department and every district and village were made fully aware of their wishes; and these were most fully carried into effect by deceiving and misleading the Quarter Master General's department; by misinforming and thwarting the Commissariat and generally by that process of denying nothing and yet supplying nothing and rendering it necessary for the army at times to carry even grass for the cavalry horses; which though it offered no handle for complaint, was felt more injuriously than open hostility." (18) Due to this mischief of the Ameers, the necessary supplies had not yet arrived. Sir John Keane therefore

thought it expedient to depute his Aid-de-Camp, Major Outram, for procuring camels. Accordingly Major Outram proceeded to Cutch and despatched from there 500 camels which were detained for sometime by the Talpur ruler of Meerpur, Mir Shah Md. and did not reach the English Camp earlier than 19th December. (19) Major Outram after leaving Cutch came to Karachi and finding Seth Naoomal to have gone to Gharro, proceeded thither on the same camel in the back seat, with Seth Sookhramdas, brother of Seth Nacomal. At Gharro Outram was satisfied with Naoomal's arrangements, whohadbeenable to secure camels at quite a cheap rate—Rs. 18 for a camel per month and Rs. 50/- as a compensation in case of loss or death of the camel while in service. Soon Major Outram left Gharro for the English Camp followed by Seth Naoomal two days later. The Seth was greatly impressed by the camp arrangements, specially when he found that it spread over four miles. He was well received by Col. Pottinger and Sir John Keane. He submitted detailed accounts of his transactions on behalf of the British to the Commissary General, Major Davidson. Seth Naoomal agreed to allow his brother Seth Sookramdas to accompany the army upto the Sind border. While the British army was still in camp at Bamnicote, Nawab Ghulam Shah Laghari, Sayad Zenalubdin, Agha Esmail Shah and Md: Abid of Tatta visited the camp and offered their help. They were coldly received and their help was thankfully declined. At this time news had been received that the Ameers were levying enmasse their fighting men from the age of 17 to 60 and had brought their guns from Larkana to Hyderabad. (20) It was therefore deemed necessary that the communication of the English army should be maintained by a strong reserve force being stationed in Sind. Accordingly Col. Pottinger despatched expressrequisition for the reserve force on 19th December, which was to be stationed at Karachi. It was to consist of H. M. 40th Foot, the 2nd Grenadiers, 26th N.I., one Company of EuropeanArtillery and a Company of Golundazee. (21) At long last on 24th December orders were issued for a forward march. Dr. Kennedy's observations onthis occasion are worth repeating:—"I shall not easily forget the scene of turmoil—commencing the 1st March—and no little vexation which accompanied this tedius and most noisy process. There is scarcely a more disagreeable sound than that of the camel's outraged feelings with which he groans and grumbles and resents every fresh addition to his load; and every tug and pull upon the ropes that form the rude fastening of his huge burthen; it conveys a distinct idea of reproach and remonstrance and is

uttered in such loud and discordant tones that a camel-man must have a heart of stone to be able to endure it." (22) With regard to the sickmen of the army it may be observed that a floating hospital consisting of our flat bottomed boats, each accommodating about forty people, was formed for the purpose under Field Surgeon Pinhey with two assistant surgeons and a full compliment of hospital establishment. (23). In four marches from Bamnicote, the army reached Tatta—the ancient capital of Sind—on 28th December. Thus the army had to pass the 25th of December—the X'mas day—as the 25th of any other month. "The Christmas day was not only to be denied its ordinary enjoyments but anxiety and alarm had to be endured as well." (24) Cholera had broken out in the 19th N.I. and had taken a toll of eight out of twelve cases when by the 29th the disease was pronounced to have disappeared. As the army approached Tatta a new scene presented itself. "The first view of Tatta is very imposing", writes a veteran British Official accompanying the army. 'The buildings occupy a rising ground or swell, which may probably be formed of the debris of the ancient city. Scattered trees, accacia and neem, with abundant underwood of tamarisk, gave a lively green and the architectural character of the houses with flat roofs overtopping the trees on the rising ground in successive stages, formed altogether a fine picture of city scenery I remember to have seen in India." (25) But a nearer view disclosed that the place was desolate. "There was a scanty population scattered about its ruins in mudbuilt hovels." 'Desolate and unoccupied palaces of the Moghul nobility marked the hayday of its glory.' A more perfect picture of decay cannot well be imagined. "There was nothing living in Tatta which could recall a single idea of its ancient wealth, population and importance except its cities of the dead and a few decaying buildings. The camp was fixed in the plain between the city and Makli hills. And from here small parties moved out to have a look at the city and environs during a pretty long halt at this station. Here is what Outram has to say about the tombs on the Makli Hills. "Some of them are very extensive and in good preservation, being not inferior in ornament to the best I have seen in India. Some of the domes specially are covered with beautiful lacquered work, formed by glazed tiles." (26) The Moghul Jumma Musjid of Tatta was another spot visited by many and praised by them all. One appreciation runs as follows:—"It is an oblong square surrounded by arcades of moorish arches, the narrowest faces being to the east and west where there are two lofty porticos which communicate with large vaulted rooms. The whole of the interior of

them and the faces of the porticos are ornamented with mosaic of glazed tiles of various colours. Some of the patterns are very beautiful." (27) And lastly we may note the impressions of the army about the English Factory House or Angrez-ji-mari at Tatta. This factory house was used for minting purposes while the army was in camp at Tatta. One of the army writes thus about the Factory House:—'It's fast falling to ruin. Even in its best days it must have been a dismal abode.' (28) The army was greatly detained at Tatta on account of the desertion of the camels. However a sufficient number were soon secured. A letter from Alexander Burnes announced that the Khairpur Chief had made over to the English the fort of Bukkur. (28a) This news greatly disturbed the Ameers of Hyderabad who were "to all appearances frightened out of their doughty resolves to resist us" and had begun dispersing the rabble which they had assembled at the capital by their levy en masse. (29) But once again rumours were afloat in the British camp that a general mobilisation order had been issued by the Ameers. News was also received at Tatta that the stores for the British army collected at Kotri had been set fire to by the Belochees at the Ameers' instigation and Lt. Leckie, assistant to Col: Pottinger, residing at Kotri had run for life. This news increased the tension of the forces who were already contemplating the annexation of Sind before they marched to re-install Shah Shuja. The army left Tatta on 23rd January 1839. Major Outram left for Hyderabad direct being entrusted with the task of getting the new Treaty signed by the Ameers, wherein, the money payment, passage for troops and reserve force stations were the main items.

While the army is marching along its route let us pause to consider the British attitude towards the Ameers. It may seem rather strange that inspite of the official resident's presence Lord Aukland's ultimatum to the Ameers was sent through Major Outram and not through Col: Pottinger, the British resident. Nothing could justify the attempt except the fact that Col: Pottinger did not want to negotiate the new Treaty with the Ameers himself, which among other things demanded from the Ameers the sum of Rs. 28 lakhs in lieu of the tribute due to Shah Shuja till 1805 for. Col: Pottinger had been shown receipts on the leaves of the Holy Koran proving that the tribute claim had been settled long back. Even Dr. Kennedy doubts the *bonafides* of this step. "The just estimation in which the latter distinguished officer (Outram) was held insured the proper discharge of any duty entrusted to him, but could scarcely it may

be thought justify without some explanation, whatever might be his own merits, the transferance of Col: Pottinger's duty and responsibilities to another, a stranger in Sind, and one who held no official situation there, but as an honorary aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief." (29A). And the only possible explanation is the one alluded to above, which if true shows that Lord Aukland's demand on the Sind Ameers was untenable and smells of high-handedness. Secondly it may be urged why this demand was not preferred before the British forces landed in Sind? Should it not be presumed that the Governor General did perceive the injustice of his demand and expected a point blank refusal by the Ameers except when the treaty was backed by a strong force following it. These doubts in the mind of a student of history confirm the belief that the British did not act in a manner merited by the Ameers.

So the Bombay Division of the Army of the Indus was marching forward when at Soonda it was announced that since the Treaty was unacceptable to the Ameers, it was necessary to meet the Belochee host. All sorts of rumours were afloat about the enemy. Most extravagantly exaggerated statements of hostile preparations had crept in the English Camp. Major Cunningham, the Officer Commanding, with a party of irregular horse was sent in advance to reconnoitre, who soon reported all quiet. (30) However 'all the caution and preparation requisite to foil the vigiiance and enterprise of the most numerous and desperate assailants were punctiliously enforced.' (31) The British army arrived at Jherruk on 25th January after two halts. The camping ground was beautiful. It was on a piece of table-land overlooking the Indus 800 yards across that the Camp had been pitched. (32) Near the bank of the river were some fruit gardens and below it an extensive Shikargah. It was in this Shikargah that three young soldiers of the British army died due to the explosion of their powder flasks. "The arrangement and disposition of the British forces at Jherruk were so excellent and awe-striking", writes Seth Naoomal, "that all strangers felt bewildered at the sight. The polished guns and bayonets pitched in clusters glittered like burnished steel." "The Mirs" continues the same writer "had sent several spies to Jherruk to collect information and it was not strange if their accounts of the English army discouraged the Talpurs and frustrated their plans." (33). Agha Ismail Shah visited the English camp for two purposes. He represented the conciliatory mood of the Ameers with regard to the new Treaty. He also came to offer a suitable explanation of the burning of British stores

at Kotri. He was openly reprimanded by the resident and in the end a compensation fixed at rupees Twentyseven lakhs was agreed to. (34) This was subsequently handed over to Lt: Leckie and Moonshee Jethanand the British Vakeel at Hyderabad partly in Kori rupees and partly in Gibindi and Meshdi Coin. (35) Gobindi rupees were coined by Ranjitsing with the stamp of the Sikh Guru Gobindsingh on it. The Meshdi rupees were coined in Persia at Meshdi or Tahriz and brought to Sind by Shikarpuri merchants. On 31st. January "it was announced through camp with telegraphic speed and brevity that we are to have 'no fighting and no prize money." (35A). The Treaty was agreed to by the Ameers and ratified on 3rd February. The army now marched peacefully towards the capital and reached Kotri on the next day. On the evening of the 4th instant news was received in the English camp that Karachi fort had been destroyed and the town taken possession of by the reserve force that was to be stationed at Karachi—since the Belochee killadar had opposed their entrance. (36) On the opposite side of the river there were several of the Ameers state barges or Jumptis. "They were large flat bottomed vessels resembling steam—boats in appearance, fitted up with the greatest attention to comfort and supplied as usual with every necessary and luxury the country could afford. On the decks were erected wicker bungalows as large as officers' tents covered with scarlet cloth and lined with chintz". (37) From the British camp the city of Hyderabad was about four miles to the east of the main branch of the Indus. The British soldiers were not allowed to enter the capital except by special permission. Here is what the Official recorder says about the fort and the city of Hyderabad:—"The position of the two forts is remarkably strong, although they are wretchedly built. Still as they are surrounded by villages with wells and trees, they may be looked on as rather formidable, for were hamlets to be well defended, it would cost the besiegers a number of men in forming a lodgement preparetory to breaching. The lesser fort is a mere mudwork. The gate could be blown open with field pieces. The principal fort in which the four Ameers reside is built of burnt brick. The walls are 30 to 40 ft. high resting on a scrap of rock, varying from 12 to 20 ft. In a part of a wall which is worn away we ascertained that the brick work was 5 ft. thick. Most probably there is a thick earthen parapet inside, as the walls slope inwardly. The top cannot be more than 8 ft. broad. Towards the town there are a few round bastions with a ditch 20 ft. by 10 ft. deep. The fort is only

entered by one gateway, which is built like other Indian forts. About the centre of the fort rises a lofty tower mounting two guns. There are about ten more which look like nine pounders mounting along the N. W. and S. W. faces. Along the east and south faces no flanking fire can be brought to bear on the enemy. The city is large but badly built. The houses are of wood and mud. None of them is high. The town is well supplied. Sugar candy is manufactured here." (38) Rupees ten lakhs out of the total tribute of twenty-eight lakhs was paid by the Ameers to the British while the army was in camp at Kotri. (39) But at the same time the Ameers had to part with another five lakhs for the mutinous Belochees to refrain them from hostilities. Those who visited Hyderabad narrated to their friends the attitude of the Belochee force. "They were estimated at from ten to fifteen thousand warriors, manly, martial and excited to the last degree and restrained only by some unaccountable dispensation of Providence from attacking our Camp." (40) But at the same time came the encouraging assurance from a British Major that the Greek Commandant of Hyderabad Artillery's liquor was better than his ordnance according to his own reckoning. (41). News was received in camp at Kotri that the Bengal Division of the army had arrived at Rohri on 27th of January and getting news of the prospective hostilities with the Hyderabad Ameers a part of the Bengal force was coming to the rescue of the Bombay Division. However on the 10th of February the Bombay Division moved forward. After five halts the army reached Sann on the 14th instant where they enjoyed Palla-fishing. "A large light and thin earthen vessel of the strong and unequalled pottery of the Indus clay so thoroughly baked, forms the fisherman's float. It is fully four feet in diameter and about thirty inches high, of a very flattened form and exceedingly buoyant. On this the fisherman balances himself on his stomach covering the short neck and small aperture at the top and launching himself forth on the current, paddles with his legs behind to steer his course, drifting with the stream and holding his pouch net open to receive the prey which when caught he deposits in his reservoir—the vessel he floats on". (41A) The Palla is an oily fish of a very strong potted lobster flavour; but it is unfortunately most detestably bony and that to a degree which renders it scarcely safe for an unwarned and hungry traveller to venture on. (42) During these halts the army was 'starving amid plenty' due to the native Mehmandar instigating the local merchants to raise the prices of their goods enormously. (43) From Sann after a

single halt the army reached Lukkie on 16th February. Here the army witnessed the first public exhibition of punishment to camel lifters. Three Belochee suspects were led through the bazars getting twenty stripes each in each bazar and finally in the village bazar after their heads and beards had been shaved they were dismissed. Lt. Campbell of the 1st. Regiment Cavalry died here after five days illness. On the 20th the army moved to Sehwan. Here the fort and the tomb of Lal Shahbaz Kalander attracted the attention of the army. After six halts from Sehwan the British force reached Larkana on 6th March 1839. From Sehwan to Larkana the army passed through 'a remarkably fine country with numerous villages and well cultivated fields.' (44) Just near Sehwan Sir John Keane met Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal force. The army at Larkana was encamped in an extensive date-grove near a garden. (45) Larkana appeared to the army "a pretty large town." (46) It had a small mud fort in good order mounting one old gun. At Larkana the Cutch Camel-men struck work—would not move forward. Major Outram was therefore summoned to quell the mutiny. He summoned them all—two to three hundred in number—and having selected twenty of the most influential of their Jamadars marched them off in confinement, each under a separate guard. To the rest order was issued to get off their camels or else they would be flogged to submission. Perforce the threat had to be tried on three of them—the last withstanding four dozen flogs—which resulted in the desired effect. All promised obedience. They were however put under surveillance even then unless such of the Jamadars as had been faithful throughout pledged for their good conduct. The required pledges were given and the mutiny quelled. (47) At Larkana the Bombay Division was broken into two parts. A brigade of infantry consisting of the 1st., 5th. and 23rd. regiments N. I. under Brigadier Gordon with a detail of Cavalry and 2 Twenty four pounder Howitzers and 2 Nine Pounder field pieces marched to Bukkur—to be kept in reserve. (48) The rest—1850 Europeans and 1820 Indian soldiers marched due East on 12th March to cross the desert to Gundava. (49) The next halt after Larkana was at Kumber, then to Dastali, Baram, Krychee and finally to Jull, the frontier village of the province of Cutch Gundava. (50) Thus the Bombay Division of the Army of the Indus passed through Sind.

From the preceding account of the march of the Bombay Division of the Army of the Indus through Sind some conclusions emerge. The Ameers of Sind were an unwilling party to

the passage of British troops through their dominions and since they did not feel it expedient to open hostilities they put all sorts of impediments in the way of the army but to no fruitful effect. Secondly the British attitude towards the Ameers was too harsh and unjustifiable. This is clear from the fact that Col. Pottinger thought it prudent to delegate another man to negotiate the Treaty with the Ameers when be ought to have done it himself. It is true that the British wanted to remain aloof jingling the money bag but it does not therefore follow that they should have taxed a power on a ground which had been falsified by Koranic receipts. Lastly, though by this time the British had gained sufficient knowledge of the province of Sind, this march added a store-house of knowledge to their not exhaustive accounts. They were also afforded an idea of the strength and magnitude of the Belochee force and Belochee forts and defences. To sum up therefore, the march of Sir John Keane at the head of the Army of the Indus through Sind occupies an important place in the modern history of our province.

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# *The First Mission of the Discalced Carmelites in Sind.* 1615-1672.

By Rev. Achilles Meersman, o.f.m.

(*Read before the Sind Historical Society on 29th August* 1941.)

In the December 1938 number of the Journal of the Sind Historical Society we published an article on Christianity in Sind and Baluchistan from the Portuguese invasions to the British Conquest. In this paper we gave a few particulars about the Carmelite Fathers, who during this period were working in Sind. Since then, in 1939, a work has been published in two big volumes entitled: "A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVII and XVIII Centuries." Since the Carmelite Fathers who came to Sind, had been sent from Persia, a good deal about these "Sindhi" Fathers is given. We will copy these interesting particulars as a valuable contribution to the history of Christianity in Sind, as a necessary correction on what we have previously written.

About the first coming of the Carmelites to Sind the writer of the above Chronicle quotes from a manuscript of 1615: "....a ship left (Ormuz) for the realm of Sind and the town of Tatta which is near the river Indus, where many Portuguese traders resort there a year, and they asked Fr. Vincent to give them Fr. Louis-Francis to hear confessions and preach to them and say Mass.....The Father (Fr.Louis-Francis) went, taking with him Br. John Baptist.

This Fr. Louis-Francis was a Spaniard, but had been professed in the Roman Province of the Carmelite Order (22-10-1616) Having been sent to Persia, he arrived at Ispahan in 1612. January 1613 he was sent to Ormuz and between the 16th of April and the 9th of May of that same year he was sent to Tatta with Br. John Baptist, as we have stated above.

In our previous article, we said that Fr. Johannes a Jesu Maria had sent Fr. Louis-Francis to Tatta. This Fr. Johannes was at the time General of the Carmelites and resided at Rome. Since a General of an Order is always kept informed as to all happenings, we may conclude he must have known about an intended foundation in Tatta. Further we quoted C. C. de Nazareth, as stating that Fr. Basilius a S. Francisco had founded the Carmelite house at Tatta. This is evidently a mistake. Fr. Basilius was the founder of the house at Ormuz.

Fr. Louis Francis however did not remain in Tatta in 1613. He was back in Ormuz by May 1614 and the following month we find him at Ispahan. He returned to Tatta somewhere after 1614, and died there before October 1622. The following is an account of his death taken from a manuscript kept at Rome:".....his illness increasing, had to bleed him another four times.....As he knew that he would certainly die, eight days beforehand, he desired to say Mass, saying that he wished to make his Communion before dying and being unable to stand up on his feet from weakness and prostration on account of the blood taken from him, he had himself carried into the Church; where he robed himself and spent two hours in saying Mass with great fervour and devotion....."

Br. John Baptist, who had accompanied Fr. Louis-Francis to Tatta seems to have died before his companion, for in a latter of Fr. John-Thaddeus, dd.25-6-1619, we find mentioned that a Brother had died and just the name of Br. John-Baptist is missing in a list of 1620-21.

By 1625, probably earlier, Fr. Louis-Francis had been succeeded as Vicar at Tatta by Fr. Balthasar a Matre Dei (letter of Fr. Basil, dd. 22-7-1625), for Fr. John-Thaddeus in a letter dd. 25-5-1619, had stated that he was being sent. In 1625 there were two Fathers and two Brothers at Tatta.

This Fr. Balthasar was a Portuguese born in Goa and had joined the Carmelites in Ormuz. He was still in Ormuz in 1620-21. Fr. Prosper in an undated fragment, certainly belonging to 1622 or 1623 writes:. "Last October I sent Frs. Balthasar and Elias with two Brothers to Tatta from Ormuz after the evacuation of that island by the Portuguese." Fr. Balthasar was Vicar of Sind in 1625, was still at Tatta in 1630. He died at Dieu 22-3-1652.

Some where before 1630 we must place the arrival of the Blessed Redemptus in Sind. Blessed Brother Redemptus was born about the year 1598 in Portugal and when still quite young came to India and joined the Portuguese army. Later he abandoned the army and resolved to join a religious order. He entered the order of Discalced Carmelites at Tatta and made his noviciate there. Which year he joined and how long he remained in Sind is unknown. Later he was sent to Diu and Goa, in which last mentioned place we meet him in 1631. In 1638 he was sent to Achim in North Sumatra together with

Blessed Dionysius a Nativitate O.C.D., Manoel do Desterro, O.F.M. and Francisco da Conceicao O.F.M. and a group of Portuguese, where on the 29th of November 1638 he was martyred with his companions before a vast multitude of natives and English and Dutch traders. He was beatified by Pope Leo XIII in the year 1900.

In 1630 Fr. Balthasar was still in Tatta with three companions. The name of one of his companions of the year 1628, is Fr. Leonard a Spiritu Sancto. This Fr. Leonard was an Italian. In 1630 he became Vicar at Diu and in 1634 Prior in Goa.

In 1633 the Carmelites suffered some reverses at Tatta. Fr. Basil writes the 2nd of December 1633: "In Tatta the Mohamedans entered our house, and carried off as much as there was in it.....Here in Basra there is the Prior of the Augustinians, who was in our house the very same day as that happened in Tatta: and he says that together with our Fathers, all were in peril of losing their lives. But he says the house will come back to us with God's help and the Fathers were already hoping for this, when the Prior mentioned left Tatta for here." In the following year, 1634, the Vicar Provincial wrote from Ispahan that the Church at Tatta had already been ruined three times.

Fr. James a S. Teresa, after his visitation had left Tatta in March 1637. In August 1643 Fr. Patrick a S. Ludvico, a French man, who had come to India in 1639, died at Tatta. He was all alone at the time.

April 1645 Fr. Ignatius a Jesu Maria with Br. Hilarion were sent to Tatta. A certain Fr. Joseph Mary is also mentioned as having been at Tatta in 1645. A Br. Felix a S. Antonio is given as having come to Tatta prior to 1647 in order to collect alms. About this same time we meet another Father, Fr. Matthew, in Tatta.

In 1652 there was no Carmelite at Tatta. Probably he had shifted to Lohri-bandar, where in 1655 Manucci says he met a Carmelite Father. In January 1654 Fr. Dionysius a Jesu, a Pole, was appointed to proceed to Tatta, as a companion to the Vicar, Fr. Michael a S. Simone, a Portuguese, who died at Tatta after 1657. In December 1654 the Vicar Provincial appointed Fr. Dionysius as Vicar of the Mission of Sind, but he can hardly have reached there before the beginning of 1656, for he was still waiting for a boat to take him to Sind at the end of November 1655. He was probably accompanied by Fr. Peter a Matre Dei. It was this Fr. Peter, a Belgian or Flemish by birth,

who was for a time at Bakkar in Upper-Sind and there had that famous interview with Prince Dara, who was fleeing from Aurangzeb, as we have already related in the article referred to at the beginning of this paper.

Fr. Peter was in Tatta in 1663. At that time Fr. Cornelius a S. Cypriano, a Belgian, was the Vicar, having been appointed as such in 1661. Fr. Valerius a S. Joseph, an Italian, was also in residence there.

In 1670 or 71 we find Fr. Peter as Vicar of Tatta. Shortly after this date, probably in 1672, he died there.

Fr. Dionysius a Jesu, who in the meantime had become Vicar Provincial of the Carmelites in India, had gone to Tatta on visitation between April and November 1669. He was still there 8-12-1670; In the lists handed to the Sacred Congregation at Rome, 1-4-1671, Fr. Dionysius, although Vicar Provincial, is mentioned as assistant to the Vicar of Tatta. He however had left Tatta by June, 1672.

The end of the activities of the Carmelites in Sind must have come about this time. In November 1669 Fr. Dionysius had already written that they could hold religious functions only with closed doors and that they were being troubled by the Mohamedans. 14-11-1672 Fr. Jerome a Jesu Maria writes: "through lack of religious the house at Tatta has been abandoned, and, as I see it, there is no hope of getting it again, because after the departure of our Vicar Provincial (Fr. Dionysius) from there, I have had news that the Mohamedans have converted it into their mosque, (*i.e.* between mid. 167 land mid-1672). At least it should be sold if any money could be derived from selling it. Some years ago I wrote to our superiors that the house in question was of no profit.....The Rev. Vicar Provincial has sent here some money belonging to that Residence of Tatta to be retained, pending the instructions of your Reverence....."

On the 14th April 1681 the General Council of the Carmelites at Rome gave official permission to the Vicar Provincial of India to sell the house or houses in Sind.

Briefly therefore we may say that the mission of the Carmelites in Sind lasted from 1616 to 1672 some 57 years.

The above particulars we have obtained through the kindness of Rev. Fr. Laurencea SS. Corde O.C.D., Prior of the Carmelite Monastery at Margao, Goa. He was so kind as to go through the Chronicle we have quoted above and copy out all available information, for which act, we are grateful.

# CARMEL IN SIND.

*Who are the Carmelites? What light can their life and activity in the 17th century throw on contemporary Tatta?*

BY DR. A. NADER, M.A., M. COM., PH.D.

There is a danger that a certain section of the students of historical research in India is apt to pass lightly over the valuable contribution which Father Achilles Meersman made to the history of Sind. One might ask:—"What historic interest can one find in a record of another failure to foist Christianity upon the Sind of by gone ages? "Truth to tell, the history of Christianity in India, which dates back to the first century is very interesting especially in view of her contribution to the thought, life and culture of India. Equally interesting, if not more, will be the valuable 15th, 16th, and 17th century documents issued by the missionaries of Christianity, the flower and cream of the universities of Europe—documents that still lie buried in the libraries of Europe, yet untapped awaiting to disclose to patient study and research priceless information on numerous and diverse topics foremost in the public life and times of their authors.

Who can evaluate the Commentary of Father Monserrate for a special study of the life and reign of Akbar the Great, particularly its priceless Appendix recording the pre-Moghul history of the Moghuls themselves as it fell from the lips of that great White Monarch who took pride in acquainting Abul Fazal and Antony Monserrate with the exploits of his illustrious ancestor Chengizkhan? In my European travel, in 1925, I came across an old 16th century record in a library of Amsterdam describing every plant and tree of Travancore and Cochin with reference to their parmacopic value—the life study of a Dutch missionary in those parts. We have not yet fully exploited the marsden manuscripts, missionary letters that mysteriously got collected together in London, though they were destined for different parts of Europe, now carefully secreted in a dark corner of the British Museum—manuscripts which no true student of the 16th and 17th century History of India can afford to ignore. In the monasteries of the Carmelites scattered all over Europe lie hidden valuable records that tell the exploits of their Fraternity in the 15th and 16th century Middle East, India and the Far East. To these I wish to draw the attention of your Society's research. If

Father Achilles paper does not tell us in detail the activities of the Carmelites in Sind, yet it reveals to us one of the important fountain and resource into which the student of research can profitably delve for contemporary evidence to the Tatta and Sind of the 16th and 17th centuries.

'Of the many beautiful spots which a traveller is lead to in the cradle land of Christianity, Carmel is not the least. On its noble summit which commands a glorious view of the blue Mediteranean, eternal calm and peace seem to reign. Philo, Plinius, Josephus and Flevius speak of Carmel as a place of beauty and a rendevouz of pilgrims. To-day the modern tourist steps into a spacious Monastery that crowns it and shares the hospitality of the monks called Carmelites. They hail from all parts of the world and they speak most languages under the sun. They combine learning and research with an ascetic and mystic life. Carmel is the home and mother house of the Carmelites. From here, as from the Coenacle, they spread out East, West North and South, to remote parts of the world carrying their philosophy and theology, spreading every where the aroma of their saintly lives. Here, also they look forward, after a life of strenuous labour, bent down with years, replete with good works and renowned for scholarship, to lay down their bones by the side of their dead Fraternity if death or martyrdom does not overtake them in the meanwhile.

It would seem that from the times of the prophet Elias of Biblical fame, there had been a body of men who dwelt in Carmel devoting themselves to monastic life. In the beginning of the Christian Era these having become Christians, placed themselves under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin. In course of time a church was built under the title of "Our Lady of Mount Carmel". The monks subsequently came to be known as the Friars of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, or Carmelites. There is also an order for women who live in convents. The two most celebrated Carmolites of the Middle Age were St. Teresa of Jesus, and St. John of the Cross. The interior Castle of St. Teresa and other books of St. John of the Cross are even today read with great joy and eclat by the students of mystic theology as classics on the subject. It was in their times that the whole order underwent reforms . A good many of this society cast away their shoes and lead a most mortified life. And they came to be known as Discalced Carmelites or Barefooted Carmelites.

In England the Carmelites came to be known as White Friars. They played a very leading part in her University life. A visitor to Cambridge is reminded of them by the Friars Walk and St. Magdalene's Church.

So great was their number in England that a general chapter or meeting was held at Aylesford in 1247 and Simon Stoke, a great scholar of continental fame was elected as their superior. He at once set out to connect his Order with the educational establishments of England. He built houses or halls in various towns: Cambridge, 1249; Oxford and London, 1253; and York, 1259. Cambridge records a great debate that took place in 1374. John Hornby a Carmelite professor of Cambridge announced a discussion on the proposition that the Carmelites took their origin from the disciples of prophet Elias. The Dominican Professor John Stokes argued for the opposition. Many Scholars from Scotland, Ireland and the Continent took part in it . The debate was prolonged for many days. John Hornby swayed the house and triumphantly passed the motion. Cambridge once for all decided that the origin of the Carmelites should not be disputed any more. The influence of the Carmelites in England waned from the time of Henry the VIII. The Act of Supremacy sent many of them to the Scaffold together with Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More. Thwarted in England the Carmelite Order began to thrive and flourish on the Continent. It was here that the spirit of the age—the age of adventure and discovery caught up the Carmelites. One can never cease to admire that intrepid little band which set out in 1604 on a dangerous journey those days, crossing Germany and Poland, and following the course of the Volga, ferried across Caspian Sea and arrived after great hardships in Ispahan in 1607 that they might share with the Persians whom they knew not, what they held the best and dearest in life. Shah Abbas, the great, received them with honours. The academies of Persia threw open to them their professorial chairs. The Carmelite Chronicles record the names of two great pioneer Carmelites in Persia:—Father Paul of Jesus Mary and Father John of the Christ Crucified. Their religious zeal and enthusiasm could not rest content with Persia. They crossed India and went as far as Peking itself. Sind was their stepping stone to the Far East. The Carmelites are not historic relics. They are a living force in the world even today. They have played for centuries a prominent part in Southern India. On the banks of the beautiful Alwaye, in Travancore, they have reared a great college. Here they train Indian youths, not a few of them

brilliant young men hallmarked by our universities, in a seven years course of studies comprising classics, literature, languages, eloquence, Philosophy and Theology. Some of the savants of this college, had they preferred a world fame and pecuniary remuneration, could have adorned the professorial chairs of our Universities with credit; but they choose to lead an humble life of obscurity and seclusion to spend themselves out for an ideal they hold dear faithful unto death to the rules of their order the great Carmelite Order.

What, then, must have been the nature of the activity of the Carmelites in the Sind of the 17th century? We have the evidence of the royal philosopher prince Dara Shikah. Distracted as he was in political intrigues against his enemies and beset with personal dangers, yet the learning and wisdom of these men made him to pause for a while, listen to them and seek in troubles consolation. According to a contemporary, he seems to have confessed to the savants of Delhi that he was greatly impressed by the Carmelites of Tatta, especially by their purity of intention, voluntary poverty, and humble demeanour and their deep philosophy of religion; and that he could not cease admiring the ideal that could wield the allegiance of such wise and holy men. If that be so, then we know what must have been the part they played in the Tatta of the 17th century which was, as great a seat of learning, as it was, in her palmy days, a great emporium of trade.

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